'If they do these things they must learn their lessons the hard way'

Thus spoke the white chief of police of these dead Africans after the March 21 massacre in Sharpeville

THE JAILS ARE BULGING

South Africa regime 'on the run'; terror mounts despite UN

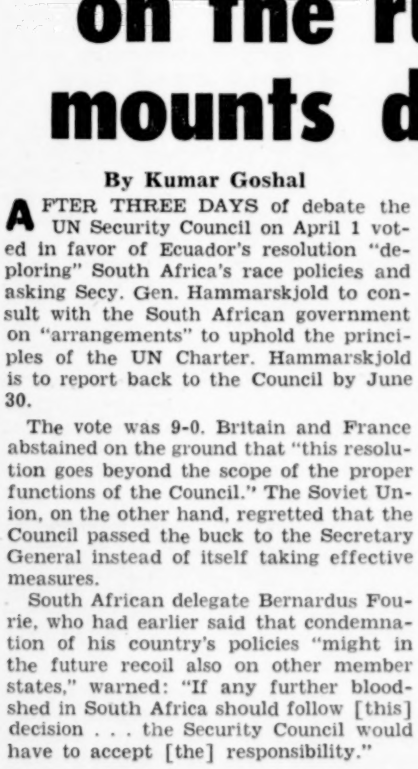
By Kumar Goshal

AFTER THREE DAYS of debate the UN Security Council on April 1 voted in favor of Ecuador's resolution "deploring" South Africa's race policies and asking Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold to consult with the South African government on "arrangements" to uphold the principles of the UN Charter. Hammarskjold is to report back to the Council by June 30.

The vote was 9-0. Britain and France abstained on the ground that "this resolution goes beyond the scope of the proper functions of the Council." The Soviet Union, on the other hand, regretted that the Council passed the buck to the Secretary General instead of itself taking effective measures.

South African delegate Bernardus Fourie, who had earlier said that condemnation of his country's policies "might in the future recoil also on other member states," warned: "If any further bloodshed in South Africa should follow [this] decision . . . the Security Council would have to accept [the] responsibility."

THE ROUNDUP: The South African government ignored the UN resolution. It continued the terror which had reached a high point on March 30, the day the Security Council first met at the request of the 29 UN African-Asian members.



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"Imperialism is dead y'know. Like these 'ere . . . "

Before dawn on March 30 South African police roused 234 African, Asian, Colored and white opponents of apartheid from their beds and held them incommunicado. In 24 hours the number arrested rose to 300. Among them were African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress leaders Chief Albert Luthuli and Robert Sobukwe; Peter Brown of novelist Alan Paton's Liberal Party; Anglican mission leaders Rev. Mary Nye and Miss Hannah Stanton. Paton said he felt "slightly disreputable" for not being arrested and added: "This is the action of a government on the run."

Several hours after the arrests 30,000 Africans chanting "Izwe Lethu" (Our Land) converged on Capetown's heavily guarded jail. An Air Force helicopter and a military spotter plane droned over them. As they halted in front of the jail, local Pan-Africanist secretary Philip Kgosana stepped forward and told Police Chief Col. I. P. S. Terblanche that the demonstrators would go home quietly if Terblanche would arrange an interview with Justice Minister Francois Erasmus.

VIOLENCE AVERTED: When Terblanche agreed, Africans hoisted Kgosana to their shoulders to address the crowd. He said: "Col. Terblanche has given me his personal assurance that I will get an interview with Minister Erasmus. Be peaceful my friends. Be absolutely nonviolent . . . Let us go home in peace." The marchers returned home, still carrying Kgosana on their shoulders.

Christian Science Monitor correspondent John Hughes cabled from Capetown (March 30): "The significance of the march is that the Africans themselves completely controlled the situation. Despite the truckload of troops and police racing throughout the city it was basically the African leaders who averted violence."

When Kgosana returned to the police station to seek the promised interview, he was promptly arrested. He was told the police chief had promised only to bring back the Justice Minister's answer to the request for an interview, which would be delivered to him in jail.

STATE OF EMERGENCY: The South African parliament has voted overwhelm-

(Continued on Page 8)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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THE AFFAIR AT MANTANZAS

Mystery of the Cuba plane: Just who did the bungling?

By James Aronson

RAIDS ON CUBA, said a New York **Times** editorial March 24, "are far more common than Americans realize. According to Cubans, there is rarely a day without planes coming over from Florida to drop incendiaries on Cuban air fields, fly in arms, fly out wanted persons or even to drop bombs. It is the number one source of conflict between Cuba and the United States so far as Cubans are concerned."

The editorial was prompted by the latest in a series of ugly incidents involving illegal flights from Florida—an incident which may yet blow up to a major diplomatic conflict between Washington and Havana. This was the sequence of events:

MANTANZAS AFFAIR: On March 20, U.S. Ambassador Philip Bonsal returned to Havana after several weeks in the U.S. When he first returned home—just before the Havana ship explosion on March 4—there were indications of a diplomatic break between the two nations; but ruffled feelings were smoothed over to such an extent that Bonsal received a cordial welcome at the Havana airport from several hundred persons. It was a demonstration of good will on the part of the Cubans.

The next day he went to call on Foreign Minister Raul Roa and, even as he was sitting with his host, came news of another incident. At Mantanzas, about 70 miles from the capital, a Piper Comanche plane, with two Americans aboard, was shot down as it attempted a landing on a highway. The plane's pilot was identified as Howard Louis Rundquist of Miami; his passenger was W. J. Schergales, of West Hollywood, Fla.

ARRESTS ARE MADE: As the damaged plane came down, a few hundred yards away a highway patrol arrested a man who had been chief of the Havana police patrol car division, Major Lazaro Damaso Montesinos, his daughter and two other men. The highway patrol leader said the plane had attempted a landing to pick up Montesinos—a fugitive from Cuban justice—and his party and take them to the United States. Montesinos had for a time been warden of the Prince Castle prison in Havana. One of the charges against him was that he had thrown a "Molotov cocktail" into a cell crowded with prisoners protesting the conditions under which they were being held by Batista. Several were burned to death.

In Florida it was determined that the

(Continued on Page 10)

In this issue

DIXIE SIT-INS GROW
Picketing nation-wide . . p. 3
HUBERT RIDES AGAIN
Humphrey and UE . . . . p. 4
NORTH AND SOUTH
How Negroes live . . . . . p. 5
MID-EAST BALANCE
Story of the Kurds . . . . p. 6
AMERICA THE VINCIBLE
Hughes' book review . . p. 9
SEE HERE, MR. LIPPMANN
Anna Louise Strong . . . p. 12

THE MAIL BAG

To a Dodo Bird

ELLENVILLE, N.Y.

You are at liberty to excerpt from what I have written to the president of Alabama State College:

"You have expelled nine students because they associated themselves with active protest against racial segregation.

"In a world that is torn by difficult dissensions, you associate yourself with the energetic defense of racial supremacy—a concept that is widely frowned upon as being as extinct as the Dodo Bird (intellectually). Your act will help further to isolate the U.S. from the increasing millions of persons all over the world who view racial segregation as a domestic disease that helps keep U.S. foreign policy in the glaring and unfortunate light of hypocrisy."

Alfred N. Mantell

To the Negro warriors

TAMPA, FLA.

Fumbling will they fight for freedom,
crudely will they rage for rights,
gasping will they grasp for the precious breath of liberty,
stumbling will they ascend the stairs, groping awkwardly for equality.
vainly will they try to swim the dung-filled sea of hypocrisy.
BUT THEY WILL WIN!
And vainly will we try to hide our naked, white bodies from the ghastly glare of Truth.

Diane Navarre

Greensboro Coffee Party

DETROIT, MICH.

Detroit can boast of a very successful mass meeting March 18, at its big new Ford Auditorium when the NAACP here sponsored a report on the sit-down protest in the South.

Three thousand people were present and were very impressed by the brilliant presentation made by Marion A. Wright, a white attorney from segregationist North Carolina.

Mr. Wright used a very vivid phrase, which unfortunately went unreported in the Detroit press. He spoke of "the Greensboro Coffee Party" as a kind of modern counterpart of "The Boston Tea Party."

Those brave Bostonians of 1773, after hurling that famous English tea into Boston harbor, must have gone home little realizing that their deed would live as a really shining page in American history and that their descendants would proudly say, "Grandpa was one of the people in the Boston Tea Party." So the handful of brave young people who initiated the sit-in demonstrations in Greensboro, N.C., may little realize that the history books of tomorrow and generations yet unborn will remember "the Greensboro Coffee Party" as a decisive moment in the history of all of us as Americans and as human beings.

Yesterday it was the colonist's right to a cup of untaxed tea; today it is the Negro's right to a cup of unsegregated coffee, with everyone sitting down on an equal basis.

John Conley

Heartless Harry

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Here's what I wrote to Harry Truman about the strange remarks attributed to him in the press:

"The long suffering Negro people stage a sit-in demonstration at lunch counters to dramatize their demand that they be treated like human beings (albeit almost a hundred years have elapsed since they are supposed to have been assured such rights), and a former President of the United States can only think of how private property was invaded! 'Throw them out,' is your advice.

"I hang my head in shame for you.

"I am glad that you do **not** express the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of decent Americans."

Joseph Spencer

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"While the Senator is indulging me, let me say that, while a one-man government, or a totalitarian state, is very offensive to my philosophy of government, in my opinion, if we must have a dictator, Trujillo has been about as liberal a dictator as a country could have."—Senator Richard Russell.

—The Reporter, March 31

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: G. F., Los Angeles, Calif.

Fooled

REGO PARK, N.Y.

Here's what I worte to Ed Sullivan concerning his censorship of Sean O'Casey from his program:

"It was a gutless exhibition of cowardice on your part and CBS as well. Perhaps I expected of you more courage than you have. I was fooled but never again."

Julius Margolin

Astonishing

KINGSTON, N.Y.

Your editorial policy of restraint (left-wing restraint) is most refreshing and at times astonishing. Thoughtful people are not won over by screams. You don't scream.

Frank Bedford

Premier and Chancellor

NORRISTOWN, PA.

I am willing to wager anything that the meeting between Ben-Gurion and Konrad Adenauer in the U.S. was prearranged and not accidental. They did not just "happen" to be here at the same time. Judging by the unanimous protest against this meeting by the whole Israeli press (by the way, this fact was not reported in the American press), Ben-Gurion simply could not go straight to Germany for the meeting, or even arrange it anywhere else in Europe.

It was reported that both Ben-Gurion and Adenauer cried when they met. And the foxy Chancellor was not slow to cash in on his false tears, for the same week on "Meet the Press," when Marquis Childs pressed him with the persistence of Nazism in Germany, he replied: "If this were true, do you think a friendly meeting between me and Ben-Gurion would have been possible?"

G. Burnstein

•

BRONX, N.Y.

(From an open letter to Premier Ben-Gurion and Chancellor Adenauer)

Being of Polish extraction and knowing that the Poilsh people suffered like the Jewish people at the hands of the Nazis—it was with some misgivings that I read that you two were having a meeting, for I doubt that, in 15 short years, enough of the hatred has been erased which was engendered by the fiendish and inhuman acts of the German war machine.

To the degree that I cherish the dignity and rights of man, so I hate that which would nullify this proud birthright.

Premier Ben-Gurion, I read where you, together with Konrad Adenauer, shed tears. What a sad and pitiful spectacle—a handshake and one could almost hear, "Let bygones be bygones."

Hitler had a plan and a legacy—a re-armed Germany. The Chancellor carries on. Yes, Premier, a deal is a deal. It was a sad and tragic spectacle. The betrayed cannot protest.

Casimir T. Nowacki

It's disagreement . . .

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Re Barrows Dunham's account of Archibald MacLeish's TV play **The Secret of Freedom:**

The play was an account of a person's realization that even such "little" things as failure to pass a school bond issue are connected to world-wide events.

Its appeal was against the bomb. It saw that there is a world-wide competitive race going on, and it wanted to turn it toward peaceful channels. It proposed that if we are to remain free we have to direct our energies and resources toward more social tasks. This was an example of "competitive coexistence." It is almost the mirror image of the approach which Khrushchev has used.

In order to prove his devotion to peace, Khrushchev doesn't feel called upon to praise the U.S., nor does Mr. MacLeish have to praise the Soviet system. The key idea is that the differences in the competition be carried on peacefully.

Hal Lowfeld

. . . that makes horse races

CYNWYD, PA.

I want to ease the mind of N. Saron, who writes in your letters column of March 21, "Am I just dumb to so disagree with Barrows Dunham?"

Quite to the contrary, such disagreement may be, and on occasion has been, the highest wisdom.

Barrows Dunham

Eccles, London Daily Worker

"And then in case of eviction it folds up neatly to form a suitcase."

Vigil at Fort Detrick

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Congratulations to the GUARDIAN for the article headed "Many scientists sign pledge never to work on germ warfare projects." Project Director Lawrence Scott has just sent me some invaluable material including January and February Newsletters.

He writes: "Many have given liberally, some sacrificially. We have kept faith by operating economically. We are in need of increased funds to meet increased opportunities. Please make checks payable to Vigil at Fort Detrick, 324 W. Patrick St., Frederick, Md.

For ten months now total outlay has been $7,663.32."

Muriel I. Symington

More of the same

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I enjoyed the recent article by William Gardner Smith on the Negro expatriates in Paris. His book of a decade ago, **Last of the Conquerors,** might have been mentioned. Wasn't there a similar thread running through both his book and his article?

Do let's have more such features.

A. Lesiam

Looking forward

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Ed Sears is good. His article, "Our Living Standards in Peril," shows an evaluation worthy of the **Wall Street Journal's** best. This is one GUARDIAN reader who is looking forward to more columns by Ed Sears.

A.M.

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Vol. 12, No. 26 401 April 11, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

Louis Burnham's goal

A SURPASSING TRIBUTE to the life and work of the late Louis Burnham, who was fatally stricken in his 44th year on Feb. 12 while addressing a Negro History Week meeting in New York, has been received. It is the news that Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, leader of the NAACP in South Carolina, and Asbury Howard, vice-president of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, will both be among the speakers at the Louis E. Burnham Memorial Meeting in New York City April 28.

In her acceptance Mrs. Simkins spoke of Burnham as "a very dear friend"; Howard wrote from Bessemer, Ala., that "Lou and I worked very closely together when he was in the city of Birmingham." Before Burnham's work with the Progressive Party, his editorship of **FREEDOM** in the early Fifties and his two final years as a GUARDIAN editor, he was for a decade a leader in organization for political effectiveness among Negroes and progressive whites in the South. His untimely death evoked messages of grief and tribute from men and women in all walks of life throughout the country.

BOTH DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS and Paul Robeson are scheduled to participate in the memorial meeting, Dr. Du Bois in person and Robeson by a specially-recorded message from London. GUARDIAN Editor James Aronson and George B. Murphy Jr. who was closely associated with Burnham in the Progressive Party and **Freedom,** will be co-chairmen. Representatives from the several fields to which Burnham devoted his life will speak, and there will be special guests from among the Northern youth who are supporting today's struggles for integration being led by the youth of the South. Miss Nadine Brewer, soprano, and Carroll Hollister, pianist, will present a program of music.

The meeting will be held at the New York Center, 227 West 46th St., New York City, beginning at 8:15 p.m. Admission is free. There will be no solicitation of funds. Instead, brochures will be distributed announcing the Louis E. Burnham Fund, through which friends and admirers will be invited to contribute toward the education and well-being of his four children, aged nine to 17.

THE LOUIS E. BURNHAM FUND will be formally established by the time of the memorial meeting. Trust agreements have already been executed by the three trustees, Shirley Graham Du Bois, John T. McManus and George B. Murphy Jr., and an account is being opened in a New York bank to receive the funds. The trustees will confer on the day of the memorial meeting on details of administration.

(John Abt, attorney for the trustees, was taken to Beth Israel Hospital, Stuyvesant Square, New York City, April 3 following a mild heart attack. He will be in the hospital for two weeks. The attack followed closely on his winning an important concession in the case of Smith Act prisoner Henry Winston, now blind and without the use of his legs following brain surgery at New York's Montefiore Hospital. Abt had appealed to Federal court the government's intention to return Winston to a prison hospital at Springfield, Mo. To avoid court action, the government agreed to remove him to the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital, Staten Island, N.Y., which has rehabilitation facilities and is near the prisoner's family.)

WE SORELY MISS the warm and witty comradeship of Lou Burnham in the life of the GUARDIAN, and most acutely feel the need of his sure insights into the events mounting around us in the world struggle against racialism. The sit-downs in the South, begun only a few days before Lou's death, have now caught the conscience of the entire country (see p. 3). In Africa the sickening regime of apartheid is staggered by unprecedented people's action. Kumar Goshal and Cedric Belfrage write of these developments in this week's GUARDIAN; and the South African labor leader E.S. (Solly) Sachs, now living in London, has written for us a most perceptive article which will appear in next week's GUARDIAN. Not settled as we go to press is the fate of the emasculated civil rights legislation in Congress; yet it is inevitable that before long safeguards for the Negro voter in the South will become law in this land.

The world is surely moving toward accomplishment of the ends to which Louis Burnham devoted his every energy. Would that he might have lived on for the years of full fruition.

—THE GUARDIAN

ANTI-JIMCROW PICKETING BECOMES NATION-WIDE

How the sit-ins hit two new Dixie towns

As anti-segregation demonstrations began their third month, sitdowns, picket lines, marches and rallies were evident through much of the South. They appeared in so many places, without prior notice, it was almost impossible to keep track. They also re-appeared in some cities after weeks of inactivity.

Tactics varied from place to place but everywhere Negro students were in the lead and their target was jimcrow. "They will find a way," James McBride Dabbs, a white writer-farmer from South Carolina wrote in The Nation. *"They have too much on their side to stop now; they hold the winning hand."*

In the North the demonstrators were finding willing allies. A boycott against the chain stores which refuse to serve Negroes at their Southern lunch counters was growing. Pickets marched in front of a majority of the 3,000 F. W. Woolworth stores throughout the country on April 2. Approximately 5,000 persons, including white students and unionists, took part in the demonstrations around New York.

Below is an account of how demonstrations came to two Southern communities:

AT SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY, a Negro college in Baton Rouge, La., on March 28, according to student body president Marvin E. Robinson, "out of the clear blue sky, spontaneously, we decided today is the day."

Seven students seated themselves at the lunch counter at the S. H. Kress store in downtown Baton Rouge. The manager told them he served only whites. When they stayed, he called police. The students were arrested on charges of disturbing the peace. They remained in jail for three hours until $10,500 was raised for their bail.

Thus the anti-segregation demonstrations which extend through most of the South reached Louisiana for the first time. Gov. Earl K. Long took the sitdown lightly at first. He seemed certain he could control the students through the faculty because the university is supported by state funds and the faculty is responsible to the state board of education. Long said: "I would suggest those who are not satisfied . . . return to their native Africa."

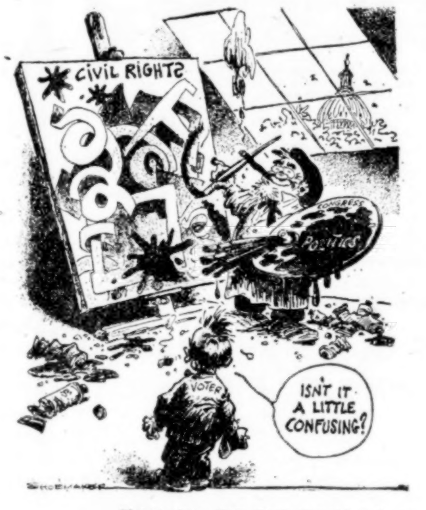
But a week after the first demonstration it was doubtful that Southern University or even Baton Rouge will ever be the same.

NO MORE: On March 29, the day following the first demonstration, nine other students were jailed for seeking service at lunch counters. They chose to remain in jail rather than raise "the absurd" $1,500 bond required for each.

On campus 3,000 students staged a sympathy rally. They carried placards reading: "The Old Way No More" and "I Can Not Recant, Here I Stand." University president Dr. Felton C. Clark, a Negro, hurried back from Washington where he was attending the White House conference on youth.

The next day most of the college's 5,400 student body marched through Baton Rouge up to the state capitol. There they gathered on the steps and recited "The Lord's Prayer." Major Johns, a senior planning to be a minister, told the students: "We want the right given to us by God . . . He did not call us to be separated because of our races . . . We want the right to move as we please, and not to be hindered by tradition." He added: "We don't seek to be the white man's brother-in-law, only his brother."

18 EXPELLED: The students ended the rally by singing "Onward Christian Soldiers" and "The Star-Spangled Banner." They filed into buses and returned to campus. There were no incidents and police made no move to break up the meeting.



Shoemaker, New York Herald Tribune
Maybe that's the artist's idea

On their return to campus the students were informed by university president Clark that 18 student leaders had been suspended or expelled. On his return from Washington, Clark had been summoned with other Negro adult leaders by a grand jury investigating the demonstrations. State Board of Education president Joseph B. Davies said that the board expected the university to take "stern disciplinary action" against the students.

Clark told the students: "As an agent of the Louisiana state board of education, whose orders and regulations I am legally bound to carry out, and as representative of an arm of the state government itself, I must take positive action."

At a rally the students voted to boycott classes for the rest of the day. The next day when it was learned that Johns and Robinson were among the expelled, the students began withdrawing from school. School officials at first took the new tactic casually, but in two days between 2,500 and 4,000 students filed withdrawal forms.

NEW TURN: School officials called a peace meeting. They told the students that the board of education had threatened to mark the transcripts of withdrawing students with "disorderly conduct" stamps. They also said that the state militia might be called if there were further demonstrations. In return for sending the students back, the leaders were promised that their expelled status would be changed to "indefinitely suspended." But the officials insisted that the student leaders leave the campus.

Robinson and Johns called the students together to say goodbye and urge them to go back to class. At the meeting the students learned that Dr. J. Warren Lee, head of the Biology Dept., had died of a heart attack. After the meeting the students sat for more than seven hours on the lawn of the university guest house, dazed by the turn of events and Lee's death.

But the next day the pot boiled over again. Robinson and Johns called an off-campus meeting to urge again that the students withdraw from school because university officials had reneged on some of their promises. They had promised not to retaliate against remaining leaders. But after Johns and Robinson had packed their bags and left the campus, other student leaders, not part of the expelled 18, were ordered off the campus on charges of insubordination.

At GUARDIAN press time Southern students were confused about future action, but it was clear that they had made up their minds that jimcrow would be a dead duck in Baton Rouge.

MARSHALL, TEXAS: Sitdown demonstrations also came to Marshall, Tex., for the first time. The town prides itself on its "Old South" traditions, which includes keeping 15,000 Negroes—half of its population—in tight check. On March 26, students from two Negro colleges, Bishop and Wiley, sought service at two lunch counters but went home when the counters were closed. Two days later 25 students were arrested for sitdowns at three other counters. They were released some hours later. More than 700 students assembled in downtown Marshall on March 30 to continue the protests. Police arrested two groups of about 20 each for sitting at lunch counters. As police took the students to jail, 200 others gathered on the courthouse steps singing "God Bless America." As police moved against the group, others arrived. Calls went out to all police, sheriff's deputies, state highway patrolmen and firemen.

The demonstrators retreated when firemen turned on hoses. The Negroes remained at a distance until police started freeing those taken into custody. But police kept 49 in jail.

The situation remained tense when Texas Rangers moved in the next day with trained police dogs. Two days later six more students were arrested for picketing a drugstore.

WILKERSON OUT: One victim of the demonstrations was Doxey Wilkerson, a former Communist leader teaching at Bishop College. As he recalled: "I was in the store doing some shopping and when the sit-in began I naturally stayed to watch. Someone recognized me as a Bishop faculty member and asked my name.

"The next day stories appeared in the papers that the sit-in was being led by a white man—meaning me. Well, I called them and straightened out the color business, and pointed out that I had no connection with the demonstrations."

Stories later appeared recalling Wilkerson's former membership in the Communist Party and suggesting that he inspired the demonstrations. Wilkerson was forced to resign from the college.

Bishop president Dr. Milton J. Curry Jr. said: "He's done a fine teaching job—and I know he hadn't played any part in the student demonstrations—but because of this publicity, I had to ask him to resign for the good of the college. He had no choice but to agree."

A grand jury began an investigation April 4 on "possible outside influences" in the demonstrations.

THE FIGHT FOR DIGNITY
A one-man sitdown in Nashville

Morse, Los Angeles Times
Swanee song

UPRISING AFTERMATH

Tibor Dery is free in Hungary amnesty

TIBOR DERY and Gyula Hay, two of Hungary's best-known writers, have been released from prison after serving two years of six-year sentences imposed in the aftermath of the 1956 Hungarian uprising. Both were leaders of the Petofi Circle, an intellectual organization which helped spark the revolt against the Rakosi regime. Their imprisonment drew protests in many parts of the world.

The amnesty, marking the 15th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary from the Germans and their fascist Hungarian allies, was far-reaching: all those sentenced to less than six years for "crimes against the state" committed before May 1, 1957, were freed, as were those who had served half their sentences for "crimes against the people," if they were convicted before 1953.

Also released was Mihaly Farkas, former general and defense minister, sentenced to 16 years in 1957. The government announced also that all internment camps would be closed by June 30 of this year.

ECLC art exhibit and sale April 22-27 in New York

WORKS BY more than 100 contemporary American and European artists will be shown in the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's second annual art exhibit and sale at the Hartford-Detroit suite of the Hotel New Yorker, 34th St. and Eighth Ave., April 22 to 27.

The exhibit will feature works by Europeans such as Rouault, Picasso, Pascin, and the young Italian School represented by Guttuso, Giobbi, Campagnola, and Carlo Levi, plus Americans such as Marsden Hartley, Philip Evergood, George Luks, Robert Gwathmey, Zigmund Menkes, I. Rice Pereira, Theodore Stamos, William Gropper, and Mitchell Siporin.

Several of the top Negro artists represented include Charles Alston, Jacob Lawrence, and Charles White.

Another feature of the show will be a group of portraits done in 1947 at Woodstock, N.Y., of pantomimist Jimmy Savo by Guston, Blanch, Baird, Fortess, Mandel, Forman, Crampton, and Beere.

Town's Newest Hit!
Lillian Hellman's
"TOYS IN THE ATTIC"
". . . the theater comes back to life . . ." —Richard Watts, N.Y. **Post**
". . . the splendor of straightforward, uncompromising writing . . ." —Walter Kerr, N.Y. **Herald Tribune**
". . . the acting is superb . . ." —Brooks Atkinson, N.Y. **Times**
GUARDIAN NIGHT
Friday, May 6
Call ORegon 3-3800

KENNEDY ALSO BACKS IUE IN UNION CONTEST

Humphrey helps swing GE plant election

By Robert E. Light

HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY began his working career 30-odd years ago behind the counter in his father's drug store. Today, as senior Senator from Minnesota and candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, he is still prescribing nostrums.

He dispensed his latest dose to workers at the General Electric plant in Lynn, Mass., on the eve of a representation election petitioned by the independent United Electrical Workers (UE) to unseat the AFL-CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). Acting to preclude an answer, the IUE, on March 24, the day before the election, released a statement by Humphrey recalling the "communist-dominated" charges against UE. He concluded: "As a member of the U.S. Senate I would question seriously the award of any sensitive defense contract to plants whose workers were represented by an organization whose record leaves doubt as to its first allegiance." A statement by Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) in support of IUE was released at the same time, but it contained no such threat to the workers' jobs.

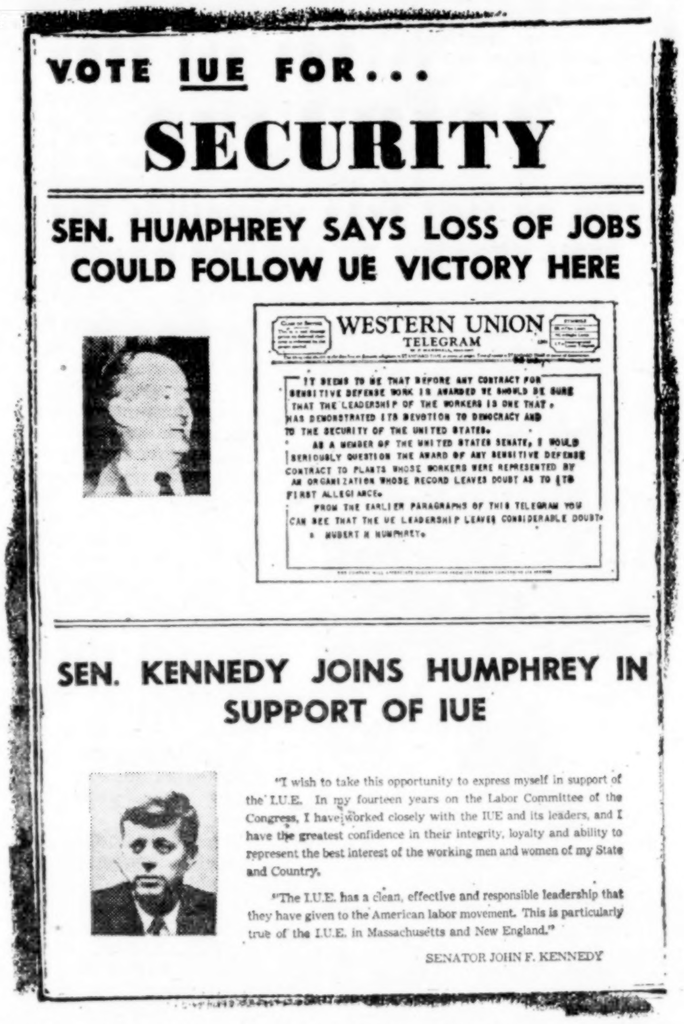
CLOSE VOTE: The next day the vote was IUE, 3,444; UE, 3,175. The Boston **Globe** credited the Humphrey and Kennedy statements with swinging the election.

The Lynn plant is a key one in the GE chain. If UE had won, as seemed likely until the Senators' intervention, it could have meant its resurgence as the dominant union in the field.

IUE won bargaining recognition at the plant in 1950, shortly after UE was forced out of the CIO by the witch-hunt and the rival union was formed. IUE's margin was 900 votes out of 12,000 votes cast. UE asked for an election a year later and this time lost by 1,100 votes. Red-baiting was IUE's sole issue in both elections.

By 1953 enough Lynn workers were disenchanted with IUE to encourage UE to petition for a third challenge. Just before the election Sen. Joseph McCarthy brought his committee to nearby Boston to investigate "communism in defense plants." Several UE leaders from Lynn were called and refused to cooperate with the committee. GE fired them and announced that it would dismiss all who defied Congressional committees.

UE lost the election by 1,450 votes.


VOTE IUE FOR...

SECURITY

SEN. HUMPHREY SAYS LOSS OF JOBS COULD FOLLOW UE VICTORY HERE

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT BEFORE ANY CONTRACT FOR SENSITIVE DEFENSE WORK IS AWARDED WE SHOULD BE SURE THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKERS IS ONE THAT HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS DEVOTION TO DEMOCRACY AND TO THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

AS A MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE, I WOULD SERIOUSLY QUESTION THE AWARD OF ANY SENSITIVE DEFENSE CONTRACT TO PLANTS WHOSE WORKERS WERE REPRESENTED BY AN ORGANIZATION WHOSE RECORD LEAVES DOUBT AS TO ITS FIRST ALLEGIANCE.

FROM THE EARLIER PARAGRAPHS OF THIS TELEGRAM YOU CAN SEE THAT THE UE LEADERSHIP LEAVES CONSIDERABLE DOUBT.

HUBERT H HUMPHREY.

SEN. KENNEDY JOINS HUMPHREY IN SUPPORT OF IUE

"I wish to take this opportunity to express myself in support of the I.U.E. In my fourteen years on the Labor Committee of the Congress, I have worked closely with the IUE and its leaders, and I have the greatest confidence in their integrity, loyalty and ability to represent the best interest of the working men and women of my State and Country.

"The I.U.E. has a clean, effective and responsible leadership that they have given to the American labor movement. This is particularly true of the I.U.E. in Massachusetts and New England."

SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY

This is the last-minute leaflet distributed by IUE bearing a portion of Sen. Humphrey's wire threatening loss of jobs if the UE won.

CONDITIONS SLIDE: In 1955 IUE signed a five-year contract with GE. Subsequently conditions in the plant deteriorated for the employes. Almost 5,000 jobs were eliminated by the company in five years. Seniority and other rights were abused.

Internal squabbling disrupted IUE. The Lynn local fell into debt to the international for almost $250,000. Local leaders feuded with international president James B. Carey. The union's organization in the plant fell apart. Many stopped paying dues.

UE petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for an election last July. After considerable stalling by GE and IUE, the election was set for March 25.

In the campaigning, UE pointed to its collective bargaining program and its achievements. IUE relied heavily on red-baiting and on endorsements from top AFL-CIO leaders.

THE SWITCHES: Shortly before the election IUE business agent Raymond C. Malloy and local secy. Chester Kotkowski quit the union and announced for

UE. Kotkowski said he switched because the IUE contract gave the company "every advantage in wage disputes."

A week later 22 IUE shop stewards came out for UE. In a statement they said: "The ineffectual IUE contract prevents us from doing a decent job for the men. Seniority has become a tool of the company."

The general feeling was that UE would win. IUE leaders conceded this privately. Lynn shopkeepers talked openly of UE's return to town. Most felt that the "red issue" was played out. They pointed to the Justice Department's decision in 1958 to drop proceedings against UE before the Subversive Activities Control Board and UE's victories in other recent elections.

Humphrey's statement, more than anything else, turned the tide. **Business Week** reported: "Few doubted that a UE victory would mean less government contract work. In a plant worried about layoffs, that turned many votes to IUE." Actually it needed to turn only 135 votes.

NEXT TIME: UE's defeat may be only a temporary setback. It will continue to maintain a headquarters and staff at Lynn and "functional committees" in all departments. UE president Albert J. Fitzgerald, who lives in Lynn, said: "We'll be around in case GE employes get dissatisfied with conditions."

At UE's national office in New York, leaders were naturally disappointed. But secy.-treasurer Julius Emspak told the GUARDIAN: "Our guys in the shops are very encouraged. They tell us that the vote proves the workers really want UE. Next time, they say, at Lynn and elsewhere, we'll win."

UE could have answered Humphrey's threat easily, if it had had time. UE shops across the country are working on defense contracts. In Erie, Pa., UE workers are building Polaris missiles. No contract has ever been taken away from a plant because UE represented the workers. Actually the missile work at Erie was transferred from the GE Ft. Wayne plant, where IUE is bargaining agent.

If Humphrey and Kennedy hoped their intervention would help their campaigns, they were quickly set straight. On March 31, IUE president Carey and George M. Harrison, president of the AFL-CIO Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, endorsed Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) for President.

THE REACTION: In Springfield, Vt., Daniel Dyshlevich, treasurer of a UE local, resigned as Democratic state committeeman. Dyshlevich, a leader of a successful movement to rebuild the Democratic party in the state, said: "I have worked hard to make a two-party system come alive in Vermont . . . [but] the veiled attack by Sen. Humphrey and Sen. Kennedy leaves me no other choice. I cannot . . . work for or support any state Democratic candidate who will commit himself or herself to support these two candidates for our nation's highest office."

In Wisconsin many UE members walked out of the Humphrey campaign on the eve of the primary vote.

Humphrey is not new to union red-baiting. In 1951 he was chairman of a Senate subcommittee charged with investigating "communism in labor" and recommending legislation against it. In a seven-page interview in **U.S. News & World Report** (Dec. 28, 1951), Humphrey laid out his program. He said "we have to go a good deal further than we have" in the Taft-Hartley non-communist oath. He suggested that the oath be expanded to cover the unionist who was "spiritually and morally a CP member."

A union marked "communist," he suggested, specifying UE, for example, "even if that union gets a majority, shall not be given bargaining status in terms of a collective bargaining contract."

Other Humphrey proposals included spreading loyalty oaths, screenings and purges to all companies having contracts with the government.

THE ANTI-RED BILL: During the heyday of the witch-hunt, Humphrey was largely silent on McCarthy, criticizing only his methods on occasion. During this period Humphrey supported the McCarran Act and was a prime mover in writing the concentration camp provision for dissenters.

In 1954 Humphrey introduced a bill which would have outlawed the Communist Party, subjected its members to up to five years in jail and fines of $10,000 and prohibited Communists from holding union office. A friendly profile in the **Progressive** (April, 1960) suggests that Humphrey was motivated by a desire to help liberal Democrats overcome the Republican lead on the "red issue." But in a letter to a constituent, Sept. 13, 1954, Humphrey wrote: "I feel that many liberals have failed to face up to this issue, despite the lesson learned when we had to meet aggressive fascism with force."

'REINS OF LEADERSHIP': A "news release" marked "from the desk of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey," Aug. 12, 1954, commented: "In acting constructively, concisely and directly against specific members of the Communist Party, Senator Humphrey as a leading spokesman of American liberal democracy has performed a great service to his country, to his political principles and to the Democratic party. He has assumed the reins of leadership in the fight against Communism."

The **Progressive** reported that Humphrey has said since of the bill: "It is not one of the things I am proudest of." But after his Lynn performance, liberals and progressives could not help wondering if Humphrey had learned the lesson that, in the long haul, opportunism never pays off.

- *How many Nazis are there in Adenauer's government?*
- *Are Hitler's hangmen running the West German judiciary?*
- *Are German schools breeding new little Nazis?*
- *What about the menace of a new Reichswehr?*

Come and get the answers at a Guardian-sponsored meeting

THE NEW RISE OF GERMAN NAZISM

HEAR:

James Aronson
Editor of the GUARDIAN

Russ Nixon
Guardian Washington correspondent
(Both were active in the U.S. Occupation Forces in Germany at the end of World War II)

SEE:

A sensational German film on the rise of General Speidel and the careers of the men who made the W. German "miracle."

THURS., MAY 12
N.Y. Center, 227 W. 46th St.
8 P.M. Admission $1.50
For info. call ORegon 3-3800

World Fellowship camp to be 'open as usual' this summer

THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP summer camp at Conway, N.H., will be open as usual this season with a full program, it has been announced. Its director, Dr. Willard Uphaus, is now serving a one-year sentence in the Merrimack County jail in Boscawen, N.H., for his refusal, on grounds of conscience, to turn over the names of World Fellowship guests.

The World Fellowship camp, an interracial, inter-faith center, has been in operation since the early 1940's in the White Mountain resort area. Its program includes a series of seminars conducted by prominent lay and religious leaders, dealing with problems of inter-group relations and world peace.

A letter from the South: 'Is the government mad?'

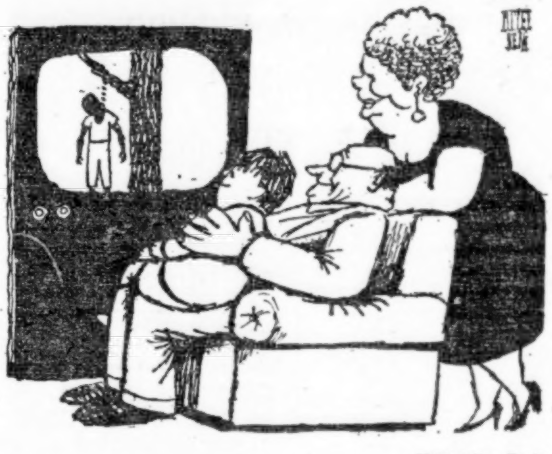
Following is a letter, from a white person, born, raised and living in the South, which throws considerable light on the reasons for the "sit-downs." The name of the city is omitted for obvious reasons.

I REALLY DON'T BELIEVE that any government, unless it had come to the point of madness (and I often believe our government has), would do the things it does and not expect destruction or trouble. They draft young Negroes, train them to fight, expect them to die for their country, indoctrinate them in the cold war and the U.S. version of the fight between "freedom" and "dictatorship" and how they are being trained to fight for "freedom"—and then they send them South to serve!

Some of the men they send South have never known segregation—certainly not legal segregation—and when they arrive, they are unsegregated on the bases (to more or less degree). But the minute they get off the bases they are segregated, no matter if they are a colonel in the Air Force.

But to add to the stupidity they have numbers of foreign officers training too: Koreans, Viet-Namese, Turks, etc., all of the "Free World," and many of these men are as dark as American Negroes. To these men the local Chamber of Commerce gives a "Passport to . . . City" so that they can go anywhere. If they are challenged they have only to show their "passport." But of course the American Negroes are not issued "passports."

Then they assume that the American Negroes, who are also expected to die for their country, will take all of this without protest; and if they do protest, their protests are sent back to their commanding officers and they get into trouble. To stay on good terms with the local communities is more important to the base commanders than to permit the Negroes serving under them to be satisfied; and they are sure they can prevent any trouble breaking out. But they are taking a big chance.



Humanite, Paris

THE NEGROES HERE are realists. They know the penalties only too well, and they protect their white friends here in every way they can. They also say that to have a few white friends here—even if they can't do much—is better, as far as they are concerned, than to have a benefit for them somewhere else.

I hope people are beginning to be aware of the fascist nature of the situation down here, the real atmosphere of terror, and the hard and absolutely unflinching determination not to give an inch.

I do get so sick of these well-meaning and stupid articles in the Northern press about how wonderful it is that after six years there is one Negro child in one school in one district in North Carolina, which shows that the South is finally coming to its senses. That kind of token integration is simply something to fool the Yankees.

Of course there are some fine people down here, and a lot of silent ones. People are scared to death to speak out. These people down here never have a chance.

Look at our fine Senators and our governors and all the politicians; listen to the preachers and to the school teachers. Why, they never have a chance to hear anything else but "white" and "nigger," and it is becoming a holy crusade.

THESE POOR GOD-FORSAKEN white people down here, ignorant, frustrated, full of a sense of sin and helplessness which has gone on for generation after generation, are ripe for any hate movement, and it looks as though they are going to be exploited for all they are worth. They have been used now for so long as cannon fodder and lynch mobs, first by the slave owners, then by the slave owners and the corporation managers together, and now by the Northern fascists in cahoots with the Southern racists. And they never seem to learn, as they do all the dirty work and still stay just as poor and ignorant and deprived as ever, and their "whiteness" is all they have to distinguish them from the Negro.

The German peasant and poor man have never won a revolution against their masters, just as the poor white Southerner has never won a revolution against his. So both groups have been exploited and made mean and vicious and full of hate, and this hate is directed against helpless and weak people like the Jews in Germany and the Negroes here.

But I must say the Negroes are beginning to put up such a fight that they may teach them a lesson.

WICHITA'S 'UNTROUBLED' CONSCIENCE

Second class citizenship isn't confined to the South

Focusing on the outrages of segregation in the South, too many white persons ignore or gloss over a subtler but equally pernicious prejudice practiced in the North and the West. Recently there appeared in the Wichita (Kan.) Beacon, circulation 95,000, an article dealing with the problem in Wichita, (pop. 170,000) which could be repeated word for word in many other cities. The article, which was headed "Negro Is Second Class Citizen in Wichita," is reprinted in large part with permission of the Beacon. The writer is the paper's assistant editorial writer.

By Dorothy Wood

THE WHITE RESIDENTS of Wichita have consciences that are largely untroubled about this matter of racial prejudice.

"The Negro gets along pretty well here," they will say comfortably. After all, Wichita has integrated schools, doesn't it? There is even an integrated church, Brotherhood Presbyterian, which has a white pastor, the Rev. C. Donald Close, and a Negro assistant pastor, the Rev. James Robinson. Negroes are allowed to dine in public restaurants, they are not segregated from white passengers on the bus. What's wrong with the way Negroes are treated in Wichita?

Plenty, in the opinion of Sidney H. Alexander Jr. He is a tall, well-educated and extremly dignified brown-skinned man. As executive secretary of the Urban League of Wichita, it is his job to keep prodding Wichita's conscience, which he feels should be pretty uneasy about the treatment accorded to its dark-skinned citizens.

HIS PRODDING is done, not only for the Negro, but for the Spanish American, the Indian, and other colored people.

Wichita, he says, is subtle in its prejudice. And for that reason the prejudice is even more harmful to its victim than is the openly-expressed prejudice of the deep South.

"You feel that you have a great deal of freedom here," he explained. "It gives you a purpose in life, a hope. Then you suddenly walk into a blank wall of prejudice. It's very damaging, very harmful to you as a person.

"There is an old saying that the South doesn't care how close the Negro is, just so he doesn't get too high; while the North doesn't care how high he gets, just so he doesn't get too close," Alexander said.

Herblock, Washington Post

"You think that equality stuff is likely to spread up north here?"

"Kansas is one of the border states, which being neither North nor South, partakes of both attitudes."

THEORETICALLY Negroes are eligible for any job in the city which they are capable of performing. Actually, they are largely confined to the menial tasks. They are janitors, cooks, maids.

A young Negro girl came to the city from the East, where she had worked as a stenographer in an insurance office. She called a few insurance firms here, and received enthusiastic response. Yes, they certainly did need a well-qualified stenographer.

Carrying her references, she went the rounds of the offices. The sight of her dark skin changed everything. Sorry, we don't really need a girl right now.

She's working, all right. As a car-washer.

A young Negro man, with a college degree, also came here from the East. He had worked for an architectural firm, and carried fine letters of recommendation. The beginning wage for the job he was seeking is $2 an hour in Wichita. He had some job offers—at $1 an hour. He's still not working.

Spanish - Americans, another large group of native-born citizens in Wichita, often meet similar difficulty when they go job-seeking, Alexander says . . .

FACTORY WORKERS in Wichita average about $100 a week in pay. But the Negro is usually the janitor, not the skilled worker. His wife works, not to be a career woman, but to enlarge the family income. The average double-income Negro family in Wichita can gross between $4,000 to $4,500 a year—not as much as one skilled factory worker makes.

The Negro is limited in his choice of jobs, and he's limited in his choice of homes. He must live within a "ghetto," bounded roughly by Waco, Hillside, Central and 21st.

Many Negroes from Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma are migrating to Wichita. The Negro population has almost doubled in the last ten years, and is now between 15,000 and 17,000. He's pushing at the boundaries of the ghetto. As he moves in, many white neighborhoods panic and move out in a body. The panic isn't always spontaneous.

"WHITE PEOPLE on such streets have told us they are sick and tired of having real estate brokers knocking at their doors and telling them that, since Negroes have entered the area, they'd better sell quickly, because their property will go down in value.

"Now that's pretty insulting to a Negro, who may be extremely interested in keeping up his property, to say that just his presence lowers property values. It's not true, anyway."

The broker in such a case can make two commissions, for if the white family sells the home, they'll have to find another somewhere in the city.

Most public places are open to the Negro. But it pays to have a skin that is thick as well as dark.

A schoolteacher recently decided to take a party of friends to a popular restaurant. The quiet, well-behaved group threw the management into a panic. Folding doors were drawn, shutting them off from the rest of the diners. They ordered, ate and paid their bill. At the door the manager sped them on their way with assurances that, although the law specified that he had to serve them, he hoped they would never again enter his restaurant.

"SUCH CONSTANT humiliations do something to a person," Alexander said. "If you're told repeatedly that you're a second-class person, you may eventually find yourself believing it. Negro children see that Negroes are limited in jobs. They see well-to-do Negroes who

have to build fine homes in poor neighborhoods. Is it any wonder that there is a disproportionate number of Negro children who quit school?" . . .

In protesting against injustices, Alexander made it clear that he expects the Negro to do his share in the community.

"We are not, for instance, asking skilled jobs for unskilled workers. All we ask is that the Negro, and other colored people, be considered on their merits, instead of by their skin."

The Wichita Bus Co. recently started hiring Negro drivers.

"A Negro who had driven a bus in Detroit applied for a job. Mr. (C. Merritt)) Winsby looked at his record and saw that here was a man qualified to drive one of those expensive machines. So he hired him. That's the kind of treatment we ask!"

THE DANGER in prejudice, Alexander pointed out, is that it backfires.

"It not only hurts the dark-skinned person. It keeps him from contributing his best to his community.

"It has a great impact on our nation and on our international relations. At the very time when we are trying to sell democracy to the world, the world looks at us and sees how dark-skinned people are treated. And a majority of those people have dark skins."

Alexander lightly touched his own brown skin.

"To the Negro," he said, "it is ironic that it is this, the color of his skin, which he can't change and wouldn't change, that makes him a second-class citizen in his native land."

IRAQ REVOLUTION POINTS THE WAY

Kurds a potent force for Mid-East liberation

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

BAGHDAD

THROUGHOUT the eastern provinces of Turkey, and even in Ankara and Istanbul, hundreds of persons have been arrested in recent months, including members of parliament, army officers, lawyers, tribal chiefs, teachers and students. The formal charge is "contact with a foreign association."

Their real "crime" is that they are Kurds who have organized a broad movement which has petitioned the government for the right to be called "Kurds" instead of "Mountain Turks" and for permission to publish a magazine in Kurdish. These developments reflect the impact of the Iraq revolution which created a "Republic of Arabs and Kurds," in which—for the first time in modern history excluding the Mehabad Republic (see box below)—Kurds have achieved recognition of their national rights and full equality.

No accurate census of the total Kurdish population has ever been taken, and estimates of its size range from a little under 4,000,000 to more than 8,000,000.

Some estimates of the Kurdish minority in Turkey place it as high as 4,000,000, constituting roughly a fifth of

United Nations photo
A KURD WOMAN GRINDS GRAIN

the population. For almost 40 years it has been the victim of a ruthless policy of suppression which banned the Kurdish dress and language and even use of the term "Kurd" and "Kurdistan." The policy was enforced by massacres comparable to the atrocities committed against the Armenians, by deportation of Kurds to West Anatolia, by complete isolation of Kurdish areas from the outside world, and by systematic persecution.

NEWS BREAKS THROUGH: Turkish authorities, however, have been unable to close the borders to news of the rights won by the Kurds in the new Iraq Republic. Kurdish tribes wander back and forth across frontiers in search of pasture for their flocks and the Baghdad Radio's Kurdish programs are inevitably heard at least by some.

Iran, too, has been shaken by the repercussions of Iraq's enlightened Kurdish policy: its estimated 2,500,000 Kurds form one fourth of the total population and have behind them the experience of the Mehabad Republic. Here, too, Kurds have been ruthlessly persecuted, deprived of all national rights, their language banned, their national identity denied. The regions they inhabit are the most neglected and economically backward in a backward and impoverished country.

Last May, in an effort to counter the impact of Iraq's policy, the Iran Security Department began publishing a magazine in Kurdish. Iran also broadcasts seven hours a day in Kurdish not only from Teheran but also from the four main cities of Kurdistan. The broadcasts decry the alleged plight of the Kurds in Iraq, attribute to the Kurds an Iranian origin and call upon them to join their "homeland, Iran."

The only Kurds who have fled Iraq, however, are a few big landlords and feudalists. Traffic is in the other direction. In Sulimaniya alone there are nearly 200 Kurdish refugees, illiterate peasants who abandoned their families and small landholdings in Iran to come to Iraq, which they call "the fortress of freedom for the Kurds."

POTENT FORCE: Hundreds of Kurds have been arrested and many more driven from their homes as the Shah's government tries to stamp out the rising Kurdish demand for national rights.

The students' demonstration in Teheran in January, first popular demonstration in Iran since the fall of Mossadegh, quickened hopes among oppressed Kurds, as well as Azerbaijanians and Persians. Opposition movements exist among all these nationalities; the Kurds claim to be best organized.

In the wake of the Iraq revolution, Kurdish nationalism has clearly become a revolutionary force, one of the most potent, for the liberation of the Middle East.

The West distorts this situation by picturing Kurdish nationalism as a threat to the Iraq Republic and Iraq's Kurdish minority, estimated to be as high as 1,500,000, as a source of tension and weakness.

Yet all its efforts to encourage Kurdish separatism have failed; Kurds have had no part in the many conspiracies directed against the Republic. Kurdish tribes around Mosul played what may have been the decisive role in crushing the Shawaf rebellion of March, 1958.

United Nations photo
A NOMADIC TRIBE OF KURDS ON THE MOVE IN IRAQ
They have made common cause with Arabs against imperialism

COMMON STRUGGLE: Behind this Arab-Kurdish unity lies a 40-year common struggle against British imperialism and its puppet governments. Kurds fought in the 1920 revolution and ever since have been an integral part of the Iraqi national movement. After the revolution, one of the first slogans raised was that of "Arab-Kurdish brotherhood." The Republic's promises to the Kurds are steadily, if necessarily slowly, being carried out.

Two political parties operate in Iraqi Kurdistan: the Iraqi Communist Party and the non-Marxist but anti-imperialist Kurdish Democratic Party which holds that the Kurdish cause lies with the socialist camp. Both parties recognize the right of the Kurdish nation and people to self-determination but hold that the task of the present stage is to safeguard the Republic, thereby insuring self-government and recognition of national rights to both Kurds and Arabs.

There is, however, a clear difference at least of emphasis. Critics of the CP, including some Kurdish Communists, claim it does not sufficiently recognize Kurdish national identity nor adequately appreciate the revolutionary power of Kurdish nationalism.

FOR UNITED STRUGGLE: The Kurdish Democratic Party, on the other hand, opposes both separatism and assimilation. Ibrahim Ahmed, well-known Kurdish poet and a leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, put it this way: "We want to live under the Iraqi Union. We don't want to separate. But we don't want to be assimilated under any name. We want to preserve our name and national identity. There is no danger in this either for the people of Iraq or those of neighboring countries."

Referring to the revolutionary power of Kurdish nationalism, he explained: "Our propaganda tells the Kurdish people in Turkey and Iran to join their struggle to that of the Iranian and Turkish peoples against imperialism and reactionary regimes and to establish a democratic order. This is the only condition under which the Kurds can gain their national rights as we have done in Iraq.

"We are against any separatist views which arouse the national bourgeoisie of these countries and split the unity of the peoples of these states in their common struggle. Theoretically, under the yoke of imperialism, the Kurds, like any other nation, have the full right to separate. But we oppose these tendencies because they split the anti-imperialist front."

In a Middle East liberated from imperialism, Kurdistan will surely take its place as an independent nation.

Kurdistan and the Mehabad Republic

THE KURDS, whose numbers are estimated as between 4,000,000 and 8,000,000, are a non-Arab people, often called the "modern Medes." Since the beginning of recorded history they have inhabited the region where they now live: Kurdistan, a mountain country of about 74,000 square miles covering southeast Turkey, west Iran, and northeast Iraq.

Kurdish tribes battled the Sumerian dynasties in the second and third milleniums B.C., and later fought the Assyrian kings. They developed their national characteristics under Cyrus and Darius and accepted Islam but resented the Arab occupation. They achieved their greatest power when a Kurd from Erbil, Saladin (now hailed as the forefather of Arab nationalism) united them under his rule in Syria to drive the Crusaders from the Middle East.

From the early 16th century occupation of Kurdistan by the Ottoman Empire, through its mid-19th century division between Turks and Persians, Kurdish history has been one of continuous revolt against foreign oppressors. When the British carved up the Middle East after World War I, they toyed for a while with the idea of granting some Kurdish claims for independence (Treaty of Sevres, 1920) and even permitted in 1922 the establishment of a Kurdish state in Sulimaniya, which was liquidated by British troops and the RAF two months later. In the end, Kurdistan was divided between Turkey, Iran and Iraq, the rebellious Kurds suffering savage repression especially from the Turks.

THE HIGH POINT of Kurdish history remains the Kurdish Republic of Mehabad established in Iran in December, 1945. The Republic received de facto recognition from the then Iranian government (which included the Tudeh Party) with which it signed a non-aggression treaty, and from the then Azerbaijan government with which it concluded a friendship treaty.

After the overthrow of the Iranian government as a result of American intervention, the Iranian army overthrew the Mehabad Republic on the pretext of "insuring free elections." But in its one-year existence, the Kurds for the first time in Persia could speak and write their own language, print and publish Kurdish books, newspapers and magazines. Kurdish schoolbooks were printed for the first six grades but the Republic fell before they could be delivered.

The Mehabad Republic distributed land to the peasants and "for the first time Kurdistan saw tractors in its fields." Its constitution guaranteed education to all regardless of race, religion, and sex, gave workers the right to organize and proclaimed equal rights for women.

LEADERS of the Republic were executed by the Iran government. The Iraqi government executed four Iraq army officers (Kurds) who had joined Mulla Mustafa Barzani in his great 1943-'44 revolts in Iraq and had gone with him to Mehabad to defend the Republic. Barzani and his men found asylum in the U.S.S.R.—from which they returned nearly 12 years later to be welcomed as heroes in the Iraq Republic by Arabs and Kurds alike.

Many Kurds still date events by the Mehabad Republic—"I was married three years before the Republic." Thousands each year visit the grave of Qezi Mehemed, its martyred President.

The Kurdish language preserves its purity and vitality despite its long official suppression. Kurdish folklore is a cherished heritage which has inspired much of its literature. Culture and literature were preserved through long years of oppression by religious men. The Kurds can boast of great philosophers and poets. A 17th century poetic drama, **Mem and Zin** by Ahmed Khane, has been compared to Shakespeare's **Romeo and Juliet**. Shakespeare and Gogol have been translated into Kurdish. Contemporary Kurdish poets include Hashar, who was Minister of Education in the Mehabad Republic and now lives in Baghdad; and Goran, a long-time member of the Iraqi peace movement.

The first Kurdish newspaper was published in 1892. There are now a dozen or more Kurdish periodicals appearing in Iraq.

How British reacted to the African massacre

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

FOR THE FIRST TIME since Britain began collecting "lesser breeds" and marking their countries red on the map, Africa is the main topic and concern in every palace and pub in this land. The Sharpeville massacre and ensuing events have left no doubt anywhere that there is no way back.

"AFRICA MARCHES" in banner headlines across right-wing front pages. Pictures of vast black multitudes on the move have hushed and frightened the jingoes. Forty years ago these white burden-carriers subscribed $100,000 for their hero Gen. Dyer, who massacred 379 Indians to "disperse a mob" at Amritsar. Today not a voice of any consequence is raised in defense of South Africa's Verwoerd, the "Dyer" of Sharpeville.

Reading from Left to Right, the **Mirror** sees "power-mad" Verwoerd "moving from massacre to madness," and demands that Britain withdraw all support from him. Beaverbrook's **Evening Standard** sees Macmillan's "wind of change" in Africa as having "reached hurricane force." The **Mail** sees "the vultures coming home to roost" from Britain's mistakes after the Boer War, and "almost inevitable tragedy" resulting from Verwoerd's "blind stupidity." On the propriety of "interfering in another State's affairs" in this case, the once pro-Hitler **Mail** concedes: "If any government began shoveling people into gas-chambers as Hitler did, civilized nations could not possibly ignore it."

AN EARLIER DEMONSTRATION IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

THERE COMES A POINT . . .: The olympian **Times**, in its strongest-ever editorial on a "colonial" theme, said that since South Africa cannot shut itself off from the world, its "appeal to naked force is bound to fail." Verwoerds' government is showing "panic mentality" and "terrifying bankruptcy" in its "stale talk about a wicked few stirring up the crowds," since "the pass laws were intolerable" and "there comes a point at which human nature, in black men as in white, can stand an injustice no longer. . . . Such folly cannot fail to lead to consequences that will be more catastrophic the longer it is permitted to continue as a substitute for responsible government. . . . Verwoerd's descent is a frightening spectacle of a man whom the gods wish to destroy and are depriving of wisdom."

In Parliament, which cannot debate South African affairs as such, the government took a cautious position but agreed not to oppose discussion of South Africa in the UN. It undertook not to extradite the African Natl. Congress' Oliver Tambo from British-protected Bechuanland, to which Tambo escaped from South Africa in the hope of laying his people's case before the UN.

Tory MP's changed position on the UN discussion issue, and the Liberal Party cabled its South African namesake asking what helpful atcion it could take. The press reported heavy popular pressure on the Australian, New Zealand and Canadian governments to take a position against Verwoerd. In London, the second biggest crowd in history jammed Trafalgar Square to demonstrate against apartheid; and Bow Street court heard police charges of "obstruction" and "insulting behavior" against a number of persons arrested after the meeting outside South Africa House, including two members of the British Guiana Constitutional delegation.

BAD FOR BUSINESS: The **Times** and other papers publicized the "alternative to apartheid" plan sponsored by "diamond king" Harry Oppenheimer and other South African magnates whose business interests are threatened. Oppenheimer, envisaging under this plan a "preponderance of non-white voters within 25 years," said that "the unrest and uncertainty are seriously affecting South Africa's economic life . . . investment which we need, and immigration."

First labor reaction was a Musicians Union ban on all engagements in South Africa "until the pernicious apartheid poilcy has been abandoned." An appeal for funds for families of the South African killed and wounded (Defense Aid Fund, Christian Action, 2 Amen Court, London EC 4) was issued by 131 British intellectuals, MP's, peers, actors and clergy. In a letter to the **Times,** the fund-appeal leaders wrote: "A tyranny now stands in the place of a government. When such events took place in Germany 25 years ago many condemned them but their voice was not heard until too late. We urgently hope that those who abhor what is happening in South Africa will remember the lesson of history."

In the South African tourist office on Piccadilly, an official said: "We are rather quiet, but there's nothing to be frightened about. The police are walking up and down outside and I've had a letter of sympathy calling the man who broke our window a lout. It's amazing to me what a fuss is made just because the South African police protected themselves against a gang of plain savages . . . "

In the Union Castle shipping office nearby, a window sign still said: "South Africa for the SUPREME holida, adventure!"

NEW HAMPSHIRE COURT TURNS DOWN UPHAUS FREEDOM PETITION

Civil liberties and civil rights: The link is clear

WITH FOUR First Amendment defendants already in prison, the fight of 32 others who have challenged inquisitorial state and Congressional committees continues in various state and Federal courts.

These were the latest developments:

• An appeal by Dr. Willard Uphaus, now serving a one-year sentence in the Merrimack County jail, Boscawen, N.H., for a review of his case was turned down by the New Hampshire Supreme Court. But a clemency campaign headed by the Religious Freedom Committee in New York gained renewed strength with a call for a public "witness" by clergymen and other supporters on the steps of the New Hampshire state capitol building in Concord on April 20.

• Also in New Hampshire, a stay of sentence granted pending the Uphaus ruling to Hugo DeGregory, convicted under similar circumstances, expired April 6, and DeGregory now faces a recall to the same kind of "purge hearing" at which Dr. Uphaus was imprisoned and also faces an "indeterminate" and possible life sentence.

• Edward Yellin, former Gary, Ind., steel worker, sentenced to a year's imprisonment for refusal to cooperate with the House Committee on Un-American Activities and then suspended as a graduate student at the University of Illinois, was reinstated on the recommendation of a faculty committee and with the support of the local chapter of the American Assn. of University Professors and the student newspaper. the **Daily Illini.**

Even as Lloyd Barenblatt is scheduled for release this month from the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, Conn., the Supreme Court has agreed to review the cases of Arthur McPhaul of Detroit and Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles (GUARDIAN April 4). Barenblatt, the principal in the Supreme Court's June, 1959, decision which upheld the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is near the completion of his six-months sentence. The Supreme Court is expected to decide soon whether it will review the case of Carl Braden who, with Wilkinson, refused to cooperate with the House Committee during hearings on integrationist activities in Atlanta, Ga., in 1958.

Backlogged behind the Supreme Court cases are those of nine others who have carried appeals from contempt of Congress convictions to the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C.

These nine cases indicate the variety of all 36. They involve Dr. Bernard Deutch of Philadelphia, a nuclear physicist; John T. Gojack of Columbus, Ohio, a former trade union leader; Mrs. Mary Knowles, librarian of Plymouth Meeting, Pa.; Herman Liveright, former television program director in New Orleans; William Price of New York City, a **Daily News** reporter fired for challenging the Eastland committee; Norton A. Russell of Yellow Springs, Ohio, an engineer; Robert Shelton of New York City, a newspaperman still employed by the New York **Times;** Mrs. Goldie Watson of Philadelphia, a Negro school teacher, and Alden Whitman of New York City, newspaperman also still employed by the New York **Times.** Final oral argument has been heard in all these cases.

INTEGRATION FIGHT: Emerging from the legal struggles surrounding many of these cases is an issue crucial to the integration fight, the First Amendment right "peaceably to assemble."

Six years ago Mrs. Watson, who was discharged after 23 years of teaching in the Philadelphia public schools, foresaw the connection when she told the Philadelphia Board of Public Education:

"I invoked [the First Amendment] because, ladies and gentlemen of the Board, there are many inequities that still exist against Negro Americans and unless we have the right to meet and talk and confer and to petition the government, there is no political freedom for us. If the First Amendment no longer means anything, if my right to test this amendment is a crime, we have reached a terrible state in America. Democracy is running down the drain. And Negro Americans will be able to achieve nothing in such an atmosphere."

One of Mrs. Watson's character witnesses at this hearing was Philadelphia Negro lawyer Robert Nix. Subsequently elected to Congress, he was the only Representative to vote against the contempt citation of Carl Braden.

Herblock, Washington Post
"What are you doing? You don't seem to realize who I am!"

At GUARDIAN press time, two Negro ministers, the Rev. Theodore R. Gibson and the Rev. Edward T. Graham, both of Miami, leaders of the Florida state NAACP, were scheduled for hearing in Tallahassee on contempt charges for having refused to produce membership lists of the NAACP to a state legislative investigating committee.

In the case of Arthur McPhaul, which the Supreme Court has accepted for review, the conviction was based on a similar refusal in 1952 by McPhaul, who is also a Negro, to turn over membership lists of the Civil Rights Congress Detroit Chapter to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Russ Nixon at Foreign Born luncheon in N.Y. Apr. 23

RUSS NIXON, the United Electrical Workers Union's legislative representative, and the GUARDIAN'S Washington correspondent, will be the featured speaker at the 2nd Annual Legislative Luncheon of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born at Club 65, 13 Astor Place, on April 23. He will give a report on legisaltive action in Washington which pertains to the problems of resident immigrants and immigration, putting special emphasis on the Walter bill which has already passed the House and is in committee in the Senate.

The luncheon will be presided over by Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith. After Mr. Nixon's report, various pending bills and electoral activities will be described and the floor will be open for discussion.

Information may be had from the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 49 E. 21st St., New York City 10.

Help Paddle the Guardian Canoe

South Africa story

(Continued from Page 1)

ingly for a bill to outlaw all African and Asian organizations. Opposition support for the government bill indicated that, in a crisis, white South Africans of both Dutch and English descent are united on apartheid.

Prime Minister Verwoerd's administration has declared a state of emergency in all the urban areas of the Union. Emergency regulations authorize the police to make arrests without warrants, to hold those arrested indefinitely, and to order a curfew at will. They also make it an offense to stay away from work or "incite" others to do so. Penalties for violating regulations are set as high as a $1,400 fine or five years' imprisonment. The government invoked censorship powers and banned the progressive weekly, **New Age**. One lawyer observed: "South Africa will now have to face the realities of life in a police state."

Verwoerd said "everything was under control," but the government has mobilized more than 20,000 civilian guardsmen and the Skiet Kommandos, and has put cordons around African quarters. Demonstrations and police violence have continued. Africans who have slipped out of their quarters on the pretext that they were going to work have been shot by trigger-happy police. In Capetown an infant African boy strapped to his mother's back—she was taking him to a hospital—was killed by a police bullet.

PASSES BURNED: Since they learned that the pass laws were only temporarily suspended and were soon to be "strictly enforced," Africans have burned their passes in bonfires. As arrests continued, Oliver Tambo, acting president of the African National Congress and Ronald Segal, editor of the liberal periodical **Africa South**, banned from attending public gatherings, escaped into the neighboring British protectorate of Bechuanaland. Tambo was reported to be attempting to reach the UN with a Congress manifesto. African leaders announced that, if outlawed, their organizations would go underground.

As the African "stay-at-home" movement continued, factories remained closed, whites had to operate elevators, hotels lacked maid service, transportation was crippled and white housewives began hoarding groceries. South African insurance rates covering damage from riots and civil strife were doubled.

When the state of emergency was declared, selling on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange rose to what was called "panic proportions." One broker called the market decline "the steepest drop in memory." The London **Financial Times** said the total market value of South African stocks listed on the London and Johannesburg exchanges had fallen by about $1.7 billion from its high.

PREPARE FOR 'SIEGE': Industrialists (U.S. investment in South Africa amounts to $600,000,000) were worried by the absence of African workers and white skilled personnel being called up for service as guardsmen. South African Wool Board chairman Dr. J. H. Moolman urged businessmen and industrialists to appeal to the government for a change of policy because of possible "repercussions on our markets and exports."

The English language **Rand Daily Mail** warned: "Prepare for the great siege of South Africa." It said that the Verwoerd government's racist policies have led to a two-fold siege: one from outside South Africa by shocked world opinion, and the other from within South Africa bringing "bloodshed, agony and exhaustion" before the peoples of the country inevitably become welded into a nation.

THE GOAL: Africans demand much more than the elimination of pass laws and racial discrimination: they demand their full heritage. Protests such as the burning of passes are symbolic acts, much like the late Indian leader Gandhi's 1930 salt march. Gandhi chose the illegal manufacture of salt as a symbol of protest against British rule because the government tax on salt weighed most heavily on the poor, as the pass laws are the most demeaning of all symbols of African slavery. The South African government's use of force will in the end be as futile as was the British show of force in India.

The recent All-African People's Conference decided to organize an African volunteer brigade in support of Algerian freedom; the Sharpeville massacre has made many young Africans outside South Africa think of a volunteer army to help liberate South Africa.

Chief Luthuli told the whites on March 20: "You have nothing to fear from us if you treat us fairly. We do not want to kick you out of the country and we do not want to marry your sisters. All we want is a fair deal in our own country. We demand it and we intend to get it."

The recent history of the rest of Africa is evidence that this demand will be fulfilled. On April 1 at the UN Security Council Guinea's representative Caba Sory said: "No coalition of colonial interests, no violence, no repressions will be able to keep down our brothers in South Africa, or in any part of Africa for that matter, be it in the north of Africa, in the center of Africa or in the east of Africa. Africa will belong to Africans."

On April 3 Luthuli urged the government to call a multiracial conference, stressing that "the time for negotiations is now."

'Some kids waved to the police'

At the UN on March 30 South African delegate Bernardus Fourie said that on March 21 Sharpeville police had fired at African demonstrators only after "shots were fired at the police" by the Africans. Below is a condensed version of an eye-witness report by Humphrey Tyler, editor of the African picture magazine Drum. *Photographer Ian Berry accompanied Tyler.*

AS WE WENT THROUGH the fringes of the township many people were shouting the Pan-Africanist slogan "Izwe Lethu" (Our Land). They were grinning and cheerful. Some kids waved to the policemen sitting on the Saracen armored cars and two of the policemen waved back. It was like a Sunday outing—except that we knew there were bullets in the Saracens' guns.

An African approached Security Chief Maj. A. T. T. Spengler saying that he was a local Pan-Africanist leader. He said that his organization was against violence and that the crowd was there for a peaceful demonstration. This was about seven minutes before the police opened fire. The crowd seemed orderly. The kids were all playing. We parked in a big field on the other side of the police station.

Then the shooting started. We heard the chattering of a machine gun, then another, then another. Bodies were falling. Hundreds of children were running. Some of the children were shot, too. Still the shooting went on. One by one the guns stopped. There was no longer a crowd and it was very quiet.

Before the shooting I heard no warning to the crowd to disperse. When the shooting started it did not stop until there was no living thing in front of the police station. The police have said the crowd was armed with "ferocious weapons." I saw no weapons. I saw only shoes, hats and a few bicycles left among the bodies.

Warsaw ghetto uprising memorial in N.Y. April 17

A MEMORIAL RALLY to commemorate the 17th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising will be held Sunday, April 17, at 1 p.m. at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Ave., New York City.

Anne Revere, actress, and Lewis Norma, Yiddish artist, will present a dramatic program. The United Jewish Philharmonic Chorus, directed by Maurice Rauch, and children from the Jewish Children's Schools, will perform.

Admission is $1.25. Tickets can be obtained from the Committee to Commemorate the 17th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, 1133 Bway, room 732, New York City., WA 9-2488.

Do you suppose the 'Times' ran out of space that day?

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV flew into the eastern French city of Dijon after police had whisked away Canon Kir, the 84-year-old Catholic priest who serves as its mayor. Kir had been forbidden by his bishop to meet the touring Soviet premier, but the canon lives only 50 yards from city hall and had said: "If Khrushchev knocks on my door, I will receive him." Police sent a squad car for Kir this morning, however, and he was driven off, his face livid and his arms waving in obvious protest . . ."

—N.Y. **World-Telegram & Sun**, March 28

•

CANON KIR left Dijon this afternoon to visit an agricultural school. . . . He returned to Dijon shortly before midnight after a dinner for Premier Khrushchev had ended and the Soviet leader and his family had retired."

—N.Y. **Times**, March 29

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BOOKS

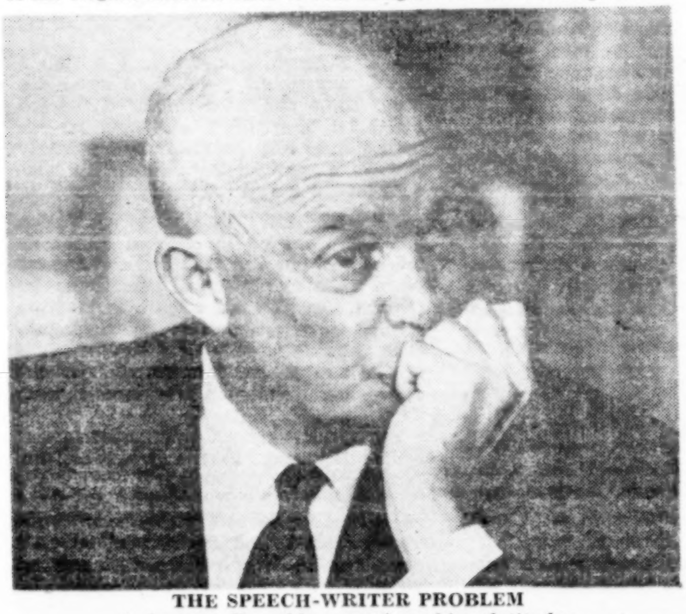
Vincible America

WHEN A FORMER MEMBER of the staff of President Eisenhower, the writer of many of his speeches and the new adviser on public relations to the Rockefeller dynasty, indicts American foreign policy as being an exercise in moral indignation rather than political reality, perhaps the indictment may be of more than ordinary import.

The American government, suggests Emmet John Hughes, is pathologically fearful of genuine negotiations with the Russians on matters of substance because it lacks a realistic, comprehensive policy. It really doesn't know what it wants. It has no idea or stance before the world other than a kind of reflex shudder at the very idea of communism.

It cannot effectively negotiate with Communists, even though survival may require it, because its only program is the end of Communists. It has no realistic diplomacy, Hughes says in this perfervid indictment,* because it has no realistic political goals. In the place of plans for disarmament, or plans for anything else, it has only a moral fervor for a freedom too often impeached by Little Rocks.

HUGHES WRITES for the most part with gentlemanly sorrow over American inadequacies but now and again the heavy beat of his elegant rhetoric rises to real indignation. His words gain im-



THE SPEECH-WRITER PROBLEM
A former Ike aide examines his platitudes

pact because of their author's impeccable conservatism. His voice, raised in a kind of weary Gibbonian scorn for an American foreign policy he depicts as bumbling, episodic, contradictory, timid and above all devoid of political reality, comes not from the Left but from the establishment itself; from the White House, the Luce publishing empire, and now from that center of propriety and power which is the Rockefeller complex. However minor is Hughes' seat amid the seats of the mighty, this is the circle to which he looks for approval, this the coterie, the inside, with which he identifies.

Thus his sad and angry scorn for American foreign policy may have more significance than the usual caveat and may even contain a little of potential political import. While Mr. Hughes may not speak for any potential Rockefeller wing of the Republican Party, still it is true that he was not recruited to the Rockefeller brains trust until he had publicly delivered himself of this philippic against Dulles from "massive retaliation" to "agonized reappraisal" and even against the pious platitudes of President Eisenhower, some of which Hughes may have written himself.

Neither was he recruited to the Rockefeller dynasty until he had expressed public admiration for the presidential ambitions of Governor Nelson Rockefeller and public distaste for at least some of the activities of Richard Nixon—but what degree of relevance, if any, this may have as to Hughes' views being somewhat similar to those of Rocky's is as yet beyond sight.

MR. HUGHES' involvement with the great makes it inevitable that while he indicts the style of American policy, he criticizes its substance scarcely at all. He is the loyal opposition. He criticizes not to end the cold war but to win it. It is the inept, moralistic, unimplemented, vacuum-like method of American diplomacy he deplores more than its direction, and he deplores it because he believes it is losing the inevitable and necessary duel for supremacy between the United States and Russia.

Hughes' style, like the style of American diplomacy, sometimes suffers from a kind of righteous grandiloquence which replaces more sober content. He places the issue before the American people as life or death, peace or war, victory or slavery, but his only solution is "Get in there and fight more intelligently. Show more brilliance, boldness, imagination." Still, he occasionally sees that the corruption of effective foreign policy is but a reflection of corrupt domestic policies.

He understands, but the ground rules of his ordinarily measured indignation require almost parenthetical emphasis, that American foreign policy is bankrupt partly because of the great silence, the massive acquiesence, the political paralysis, that was the inevitable result of the McCarthy witch-hunt. He perceives, and states, in his way, that if peace cannot be advocated without fear of treason charges, that if disarmament cannot be discussed without charge of surrender to Russia, that if all political dialogue must take the form of perpetual unanimity, then all political processes must be degraded until foreign policy or any policy is but the misfit offspring of the reactionary and the timid.

HE UNDERSTANDS, too, that the effectiveness of American grandiloquence concerning the free world has been eroded and impeached by our treatment of 15,000,000 American Negroes at home. If the book has shortcomings, it also has positive values that make it worth reading. One of them is its tireless insistence on the necessity of negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Its weakness as an indictment, I believe, is that while it catalogs a long list of American diplomatic defeats and a long list of Russian diplomatic triumphs, it makes little inquiry why this should be so, little examination as to whether the society behind the diplomacy had anything to do with its success or failure. One might think that the difference between American and Soviet policy was somehow explained by a congenital American denseness, an inexplicable Russian brilliance.

In his conclusion, Mr. Hughes is carefully neutral, even a little defeatist, as to the ultimate outcome of American stupidity. The reader can take his choice between disaster and triumph. In two letters, each purporting to have been written by the author to his children in the year 2000, we are offered our choice as to destiny. One letter implies that we returned to political maturity, once again encouraged debate, once again permitted dissent, and that out of this Renaissance came policies that saved the world and ourselves. The other letter says that we could not change in a world of change, that we continued to confuse our desires with reality, that we continued to substitute rhetoric for practical policy, and that as a result in the year 2000 we have but a memory of our former greatness.

But if American foreign policy cannot find peace there will not even be a memory—but only a charred and lifeless earth, silent in space.

—**Richard O. Boyer**

**AMERICA THE VINCIBLE*, by Emmet John Hughes. Doubleday & Company, Inc., N.Y. 306 pp. $3.95.*

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PUBLIC AFFAIRS Pamphlets' address is 22 E. 38th St., New York 16. This information was omitted from a story on these pamphlets in the March 28 issue. Issued at the rate of 12-15 a year on economic, social and home problems, they may be obtained for 25c each or for $3 for 15. There are also special-quantity rates of as low as 10c a pamphlet on large orders.

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A Message From George Seldes

Dear Friends and Former Readers of IN FACT:

When I wrote my hail and farewell in 1950 I hoped for new financing and a new plan of publishing, but the times were full of fear and anxiety, and now fortunately other publications are filling the void.

I have spent the best part of the decade in preparing a book which my experience with **IN FACT** readers taught me is a vital necessity. In my attack on censorship and suppression I had learned that even today, and even in free and democratic America, the words and ideas of great men are still feared—and still omitted—and notably in universally accepted, most popular and most familiar anthologies.

The quotations of liberals and radicals and all on the "Left," including Jefferson and Adams (in their views on politics and religion) and even conservatives such as Washington himself, are so universally omitted in books pretending to fairness and completeness, that I am forced to believe that these patriots as well as Tom Paine, and our first Freethinker-Publisher, Ethan Allen, have been deliberately censored and suppressed. I have been amazed by quotations from them, and from hundreds of others, which I have authenticated.

When it comes to Liberty (in general) and to a free press, and to non-conformity, and to dissent, and to Truth itself, the popular and familiar books of quotations are either badly done, incomplete jobs or guilty of suppression. When John Stuart Mill's essay "On Liberty" is omitted from a dozen editions of Bartlett over a hundred years (and is quoted for part of a page today) I must suspect the censor. And so with Milton's "Areopagitica," the world's clearest call for a free press.

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The Cuban plane

(Continued from Page 1)

plane had been rented from the Aero Country Club in Miami, a private flying field, on March 20. The pilot said he was going to fly to two points in Florida.

Under questionin, Rundquist, who had been wounded in the foot by gunshot as the plane was forced down, said that he and Schergales had been fishing on a little island off the Cuban coast, that their compass had gone bad and they were attempting an emergency landing when they were attacked. There was no fishing gear aboard the plane, according to Cuban authorities. Rather, they said, they had found navigational charts of sugar fields recently set on fire by Florida-based planes.

Shergales demanded to see Premier Castro, his secretary, Dr. Juan Orta, or another assistant, Capt. Alfredo Guerra. He was taken off to Havana; Rundquist was sent to a nearby military hospital.

A FURIOUS PRESS: The incident got big headlines in the Cuban press. From Havana **Christian Science Monitor** correspondent Bertram B. Johansson wrote: "Quite naturally Havana newspapers are furious about this type of air activity. It takes no exertion at all to imagine what U.S. Congressional or public reaction would be if some Cuban-based planes should fly over the U.S. and drop fire bombs on Florida and Louisiana sugar fields. The Castro government could not have asked for a more perfectly timed faux pas, and U.S. citizens here are beginning to urge their government to force penalties on plane rental companies or owners for allowing the use of their planes by comparative unknowns who file one flight plan and then use another, getting the United States into diplomatic deep water."

There was only one thing wrong with Johansson's surmise: the pilots who fly the illegal Cuban missions are well known. The U.S. Immigration Service has a list of at least 29 supposedly blacklisted pilots—including Rundquist and Schergales—who get $5,000 and more for their flights. These pilots, according to **Time** magazine (April 4) keep their rendezvous publicly at the Mau Mau Lounge of the Green Mansions Hotel in Miami.

THE PIPER COMANCHE DOWNED IN MANTANZAS, CUBA
Brother, that must have been some "small Chinese pistol"!

ENTER THE GENERAL: The Mantanzas incident might have passed into history as another embarrassment for Washington if it had not taken an unusual turn on March 24. On that day Immigration Commissioner General Joseph M. Swing, seeking funds from the House Appropriations Committee, dropped hints of a possible link between Schergales and the Castro government. He said Schergales was associated with two brothers, John and Robert Ek, who ran a confidential investigating service in Miami. The Ek brothers angrily denied even knowing Schergales. Only the Hearst New York **Mirror** carried the denial.

It seemed established that the Ek agency had been engaged by members of the Castro government to investigate the activities of anti-Castro Cubans in the United States. It was also known that Schergales had connections with Maj. Pedro Diaz Lanz, the Cuban Air Force officer who had defected and had testified before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

Swing said he was turning his information over to the appropriate United States agencies for investigation.

THE "AFFIDAVIT": Then, on March 29, the Scripps-Howard New York **World-Telegram & Sun** ran a Washington story headlined: **U. S. Admits: 'Airlift' Was Castro Plot.** The story said that Schergales had given an affidavit to American authorities in Havana swearing that the whole business had been a Cuban scheme to provide anti-American propaganda. Rundquist, he said, knew nothing of the plot. The original plan, he said, was to let the Montesinos family escape (Castro would be glad to be rid of him) to the United States further to embarrass Washington. But the Cubans "fouled it up." Instead of firing a pre-arranged fake warning shot, a patrol colonel fired an accurate shot "with a small Chinese pistol," and not only brought the plane down but wounded the pilot. He had arranged the whole business, Schergales said, at a February meeting in Havana with Castro's aides, Orta and Guerra. [In Havana Orta said he had never met Schergales.]

On the basis of the affidavit and "other information not disclosed" it was reported that Washington was planning to take the case before the Inter-American Peace Committee of the American States, which is authorized to consider actions contributing to tensions in the Caribbean area.

SOME QUESTIONS: The Cuban government was remarkably restrained over the new turns in the Mantanzas affair; but questions were being asked elsewhere which cast an odd light on the supposed disclosures after the incident. These were some of the questions:

- Where and when was the affidavit obtained, especially in view of the fact that Schergales was and is in Cuban military custody?
- How did Scripps-Howard reporter William Cooper discern from Washington that the plane had been brought down by a "small Chinese pistol," in the face of Cuban statements that machine gun fire had done the job? (Note also the introduction of the sinister word "Chinese.")
- If Schergales was indeed a Cuban agent, why would the Cubans make the whole thing public—especially if the job had been bungled? That would be exposing their own hand, and they surely were in a position to cover up an incident on their own soil.

HOW DEEP IN? The general conclusion last week seemed to be that somebody indeed had bungled; but there was great doubt that the bungling had been by Cubans. The unusual silence in Havana seemed to be designed to let the loquacious American officials get themselves deeper and deeper into unpleasant and embarrassing diplomatic water, and then let go.

For sooner or later a far more serious matter is bound to come to a head: the whole disgraceful business of Cubans wanted as war criminals operating freely on United States soil, plotting and paying gangsters and freebooters to help overthrow the legitimate government of Cuba.

The view from the green

From a letter to a constituent from Rep. Hugh Scott (R-Pa.):

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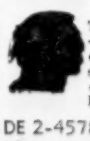
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FAREWELL PARTY for FRANK WHITBY who is leaving L. A. after 40 years. Sat., April 16, 8 p.m., Park Manor. Program: Frank Greenwood, Floretta Taylor, Joyce James. Refreshments. Contrib. $1, advance; $1.25 at door.

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CELEBRATE MAY DAY, May 1, 8 p.m. 150 Golden Gate Av. Main Speaker: Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., national secretary, Communist Party, U.S.A.—Adm. 50c. Ausp: Bay Area May Day Comm.

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MAY DAY 1960 — "Eyewitness Report from the Fighting South" by James E. Jackson, editor, The Worker, Broadwood Hotel, S. Gold Room, Broad & Wood Sts. SUN., MAY 1, 2:30 p.m. Entertainment. Admission $1. Unemployed & students 50c. Children with parents free. Ausp. Phila May Day Comm. For further information call James Dolsen, 2018 N. 32nd St., Phila. 21. Tel. CE 2-0512.

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TUESDAYS (April 19 to May 24)
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SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN
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HYMAN LUMER
8-9:30—Current Questions in Marxism
HERBERT APTHEKER
8:30-10—The U.S. Labor Movement
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THURSDAYS (April 21 to May 26)
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HEAR RUSS NIXON — "News from Capitol Hill"; Legislative Lunch 1-4 p.m. SAT. APRIL 23, Club 65 Cafeteria, 13 Astor Place. No admission. Ausp. Amer. Comm. Prot of Foreign Born. OR 3-5058.

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THE GALLERY

CIVIL DEFENSE DIRECTOR Leo A. Hoegh told a meeting of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce that Americans are actually building fallout shelters by the thousands, but they're not telilng anyone about it. He pointed out that his field workers have found "very few persons" who will tell what steps they have taken for survival in a nuclear war. . . . Members of the Bethel, Pa., Women's Club last month were treated to a panel discussion on the "pros and cons of the UN" by four women from the International Workshop of the Charter Oaks Community Club. Although the workshop, organized four years ago, apparently has not made up its mind yet on the UN, the women reported that members have submitted designs for the official uniform of the International Police Force . . . FBI spy Herbert Philbrick told the Cleveland **Plain Dealer** that he went to the U.S.S.R. incognito two years ago to meet with "underground" leaders. . . . The London **Sunday Times** headlined its review of the film, "Can-Can": "Khrushchev Was Right." . . . After Felton Turner, a Negro, was flogged and "KKK" carved into his chest and abdomen by four white men in Houston, Tex., Rep. W. R. Poage (D-Tex.) wrote to the Pittsburgh **Courier** that he was not sure "whether or not he [Turner] was actually the victim of a group or whether this is a publicity stunt."

SOVIET PHYSIOLOGIST V. N. Nikitin told the London **Evening Standard** of his work to prolong life. Nikitin is looking for a way to synthesize the hormones and other substances produced in the nervous system which build new body cells. If he is successful, he says, "it will be commonplace to live to 100 or 120." Meanwhile he offers three rules all can apply to live longer: (1) WORK HARD—it stimulates the nervous system. But, he cautions, the mind must be happy at its work. If you are not happy in your job, he says, quit at once. (2) TAKE PLENTY OF EXERCISE. Walk where possible. If forced to sit for long periods, find something for the hands to do. Also, get plenty of sleep. (3) DIET. Eat all foods—in moderation—but fast one day a month. On that day drink just tea or coffee and eat apples only. This diet clears the system of all poisons. . . . A Gallup Poll conducted in ten "free world" countries reveals that 10% believe there will be an atomic war in the next 20 years. Only 3% of those polled in France believed there would be a war, but 17% in the U.S. thought a war will come.

In Transit, Washington, D.C.
"You are what we in the medical profession call, 'pooped'."

LAST DECEMBER in Philadelphia police informer William Dean told detective Bernard Hughes that he knew of places where "hot" men's suits were being peddled. Together they worked out a plan: Hughes was to give Dean $25 in marked money which he would use a buy a "hot" suit in a South St. poolroom. After the transaction was made, the detective would burst into the poolroom and arrest the man with the marked money.

The plan started out on script. Hughes gave Dean the $25 and sat in his car outside the poolroom to wait for the high sign. Dean went into the poolroom but after an hour he had still not come out. When Hughes went to investigate, he found no sign of Dean.

The affair remained a mystery until last week when the detective spotted Dean in West Philadelphia and arrested him.

In court Dean pleaded innocence. This was his story: He went into the poolroom in good faith and bought the "hot" suit. He was on his way out when someone struck him on the head from behind, knocking him unconscious. When he awoke, he was lying on the street and the suit was gone. Worst of all, the blow on the head made him forget everything about the agreement with Hughes.

The judge seemed to doubt Dean's story. He ordered him held for larceny.

—Robert E. Light

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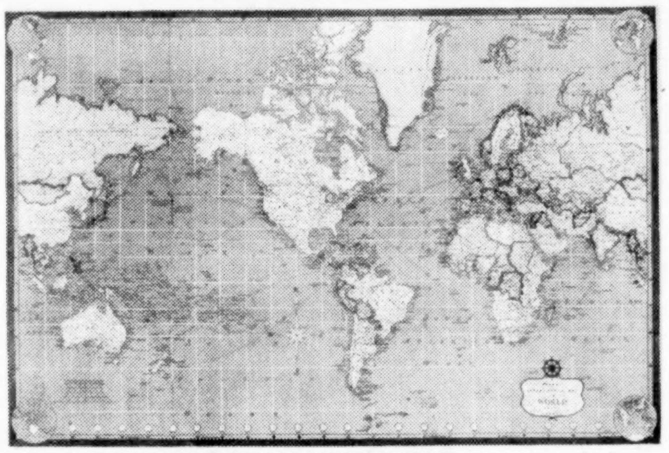

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the SPECTATOR

See here, Mr. Lippmann

The following letter was sent recently to columnist Walter Lippmann by Anna Louise Strong, the GUARDIAN's correspondent in Peking.

Coconut Grove
Hainan Island, China

Dear Walter Lippmann:

Before leaving Peking for a month's rest in this coconut grove, I had the pleasure of reading four of your recent columns from India and Egypt. I found them, as always, the clearest analysis anywhere of the most constructive Western view. I also found, as usual in a Western summary, a clause that provokes philosophic argument. It is where you hope that Indian peasants may attain "by voluntary action" what Chinese attain "under compulsion."

Now of course the Chinese are as individuals and as groups, far more "voluntary" than any Indian peasant dreams of being. You, with your long knowledge of the world and of its philosophies, must know this. Are you using this formula, then, as a kind of "escape clause," to save something good for the Indian way? Or can you really believe that the terrific speed of development today in China could be done "under compulsion" or in any other way than by exciting the utmost initiative that men give "voluntarily" to their greatest desires?

Only an extreme amount of "free will" operating gladly can do this. And of this type of free will and voluntariness, I would say the Chinese have not only more than the Indian peasants, but more than most of my American friends today. They resemble rather the Americans of Jackson's day or of our westward drive.

I SHALL NOT TRY here to debate "free will" vs. determinism, though this should some day be properly done. It seems to me clear that no human act is ever totally "free" or totally "compelled." For if total compulsion under torture is possible, why do cases exist when men were tortured to death yet did not betray? And if total freedom from the bonds of circumstance is possible, why cannot I, at 74, be free to do a ballet with Ulanova? All acts, in varying degrees, are partly conditioned, partly free.

What aspect of a human action gives the sense of "freedom" to the actor? It seems to me convenient to separate acts done in pursuit of a good—whether money, fame, a woman, good reputation, a job—and acts done in flight from an evil, whether from the police, torture, unemployment, or just a scolding by a superior. In the first type of acts one feels "free"; in the second type, one feels "compulsion."

The first type of acts, when a man is drawn by desire, not pushed by fear, have not only the sense of freedom, but are both the happiest kind of acts and the most productive. The Chinese I have met the past year and a half seem to live in this way, more than even my friends in America. In the U.S. the element of fear bulks rather large in motivation. Fear of unemployment, of loss of contract, of insecure old age, but also the fear of state power and police, which was strong in the McCarthy period and still survives as a subconscious pressure to conformity. My progressive friends have considerable fear that a nuclear war may destroy mankind.

IN CHINA I looked for these fears and did not find them. I find people moved rather by desire for the glory of tomorrow, which is proved by the glory of today in contrast to the past. As the radio announcer says on New Year's eve at midnight: "The great and glorious year of 1959 is about to leave us; the greater, more glorious year of 1960 is about to arrive. Let us all greet the arriving year." After which the dancing starts.

There is no fear of losing jobs or of penniless old age any longer. Even the age-old fear of flood, drought and pests gives way to the confidence that man is beating all these. Is there fear of the police? I doubt it. Certainly it is not wide. Jails have so diminished that Peking with its present nine counties is served by one medium-sized jail, consisting of a compound containing dormitories and a few small factories, with a lock and guard on the outer gate and no locks in the buildings.

The only police I personally have seen in this year and a half are neat traffic cops, very polite, who do not even give tickets when your car runs through a red light. They whistle, and the driver stops and goes back to be rebuked and to make proper apology, after which he becomes shamefaced and cautious.

There is wide initiative, down to the lowest adult and even child; there are also strong social pressures, but few of these are imposed obviously by the state. To the consciousness of most Chinese, they derive from the needs of development as discussed and hailed by the people. People themselves feel intensely "free" and "voluntary"; this is why they achieve so much. Are they deceived by this feeling? Not unless all men are deceived when they say "free will."

Yours,
Anna Louise Strong
9 Tai Chi Chang, Peking